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ABSTRACT

Social scientists and educators who favor the developmental approach to values acquisition focus on the individual and his or her own psychological growth as the means to acquiring a healthy set of values. On the other hand, those who favor the transmission approach to values acquisition focus on the instillation of societal and group norms in the individual. This paper sought to understand the differences between these two approaches and to develop a model of values acquisition that integrates both approaches. In addition, the paper distinguished between values that are important to society and those that are matters of individual choice. Some implications of an integrated approach to values acquisition were identified for educators and researchers. A 13-item list of references also is included. (DB)

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The Critical Distinctions Between the Developmental and Transmission Approaches to Values Acquisition

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The Critical Distinctions Between the Developmental and Transmission Approaches to Values Acquisition

The inspiration for this paper originated in a series of classroom discussions in the graduate course EDU 500 Current Trends in Teaching and Learning Theories which is a required course in the Masters of Administration Program, Educational Leadership Specialty at Madonna University. The discussions in the seminar format of this course focused upon the topic of "Should Values be Developed Rather than Transmitted?" included in the book Taking Sides:Clashing Views on Controversial Educational Issues (Noll, 1989). The stimulating discussions in this course encouraged the author of this paper to consider new ideas and develop a paradigm that could better explain the dichotomous issue of values acquisition presented by the author of the course textbook.

This paper will attempt to focus upon the following questions:

* What is the bi-polar theoretical and philosophical distinctions between the "developmental" and "transmission" approaches to values acquisition?
* What are the distinctions between values that can generally be agreed as valuable and those which are matters of personal choice?
* How could a model of values acquisition incorporate both of

the "developmental" and "transmission" approaches?

* What are the educational/research implications of this model?

The columnist Jonathan Yardley reflects the concerns of many Americans when he states: "The prevailing sense that the country is morally rudderless is well-founded and disturbing." (as quoted in Noll, 1989). Gaus (1990) presents a good overall description of the basic features of values and eleven different characteristics of values as used in discourse and practice (pp. 2-3). This paper will draw upon several of these characteristics while focusing upon the psychological processes of acquiring values.

What psychological views contribute to our understanding of values acquisition? How might these ideas help guide educational and parental reform of existing practices? The most dramatic distinction of values acquisition is presented by Noll (1989) in terms of the "developmental" and "transmission" approaches.

The "developmental" approach is advanced by theorists such as Lawrence Kohlberg, Louis Raths, Sidney Simon, and Howard Kirschenbaum. A search for the cognitive and affective roots of these ideas leads to the work of John Dewey, Jean Piaget, Carl Rogers, and Abraham Maslow. The philosophical and pragmatic implications of the developmental approach can be summarized by the following statement: People need the freedom and the responsibility to learn how to control their own behavior and act responsibly in a democratic society.

Although Noll (1989) presents the article by Kohlberg (1975) to support the affirmative response to the question:Should values

be developed rather than transmitted?, Kohlberg's ideas on a model of moral development are rather consistent with the notion of values clarification (Simon, Howe, & Kirschenbaum, 1972) and the "modern approach to the valuing process" (Rogers, 1983). Since these ideas possess a common theoretical and philosophical base, these ideas will be consolidated as one view for the purposes of this paper. This does not mean to say that there are no differences between these views, but only that such a discussion lies outside the bounds of this paper.

Noll (1989) presents the case against the development of values in the form of Edward Wynne's (1986) article "The Great Tradition in Education:Transmitting Moral Values." Noll (1989) also states that "Wynne agrees with former secretary of education William J. Bennett's call for 'moral literacy' through the clear articulation of cultural ideals and, if necessary, indoctrination" (p. 45).

Thus the reader of this paper can now better understand the nature of the topic under discussion in my graduate seminar. As might be expected, the graduate students in my class held various views related to these theories and asked several questions. Among the most important questions raised were the following:

* What are the origins of these discrepant views?
* What are the benefits of each approach?
* Could both of these approaches to values be valid?

The rather lengthy discussions in the seminar afforded me the opportunity to clarify some of the points made by Kohlberg and Wynne. After the three hour class was over, I went home and

began jotting down some notes related to the stimulating discussions in the seminar that eventually led to this paper.

The initial fruits of my labors are presented in Table 1 where I have attempted to compare and contrast the developmental and transmission approaches to values acquisition. Although some of my thoughts reflected in the table are more speculative and interpretive than others, I look forward to sharing this information with students in future seminar discussions in order to see if this approach helps students think more deeply about values acquisition.

Insert Table 1 about here

A review of Table 1 reflects the bipolar aspects of the developmental and transmission approaches on many critical issues. Moreover, an analysis of this table also reflects two distinct approaches that at least at times peacefully coexist in the lives of human beings. Both approaches appear to possess life-span validity in being able to explain different behaviors. In another vein, it might be possible to ask if as a society we can agree on any values to be taught by either method of acquisition?

The work of Gary Davis (1983) proposes a short list of values that would appear to be of value in the public schools and society as a whole. Table 2 depicts the list provided by Davis.

A closer examination of this list from the developmental approach to acquisition reflects the fact that many of the items

on this list may not garner general approval without serious qualifiers. The use of the dilemma in the moral developmental approach of Kohlberg and the values clarification approach of Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (1972) is critical to the development of cognitive disequilibrium which is believed to motivate the person toward the resolution and reorganization needed to establish a more tranquil mental state of affairs.

Insert Table 2 about here

It is relatively easy to take most of the values listed by Davis and imagine a situation that would constitute a personal dilemma. For example, should a person feel obligated to do a favor for another person if this conflicts with personal values? Should a person blindly follow directions that conflict with other values? Those who advocate the developmental approach to values acquisition believe that life is filled with such conflicts. In direct contrast is the notion put forth by Wynne (1986) that "adults recognized that life occasionally generates moral dilemmas" (p. 7). The operative point here is the word OCCASIONALLY!

Several of the key moral issues of the day such as abortion, care of elderly parents, euthanasia, environmental concerns, and affirmative action all reflect a dualistic conflict between competitive values. These conflicts cannot be easily resolved since the acceptance of one demands the devaluing of another important value. Nonetheless, a review of the list that Davis

provides in Table 2 also points out that it is likely that many people would agree that many of these values are worthwhile in a democratic society in contrast to values of stealing, laziness, lying, being impatient and inconsiderate, and hurting others.

The major point to be made of all this lies in the recognition that certain values promote the development of society and the mental health and well being of individuals. Some values promote or destroy these opportunities for societal/individual growth while other values are neutral in having an impact on growth behaviors. The values included in this latter category are more a matter of personal choice such as your favorite brand of automobile, ice cream, or style of music or dance. Although people may like or dislike us because of our selection and maintenance of these values, most denizens of our society still accept us at a human level and a few might even treasure these differences as a celebration of our uniqueness that makes us more fully human.

The implications of this distinction between what could be called "pragmatic" and "personal" values should lead parents and educators to examine different approaches to teaching such values. The pragmatic values that enhance the development of society and individuals need to be vigorously supported by a majority of those in the society or these values will lose favor in the collective values orientation of society and eventually vanish from existence. On the other hand, personal values need to be respected and understood in order to promote harmony and learning about individual differences.

A case can be made for the philosophy of the pragmatic values justifying the means to accomplish these outcomes if the realistic chance of promoting civil war, disease, or physical or emotional threats is embodied in the result. Since the state of anomie results in a total disintegration of societal values and norms, the maintenance of these pragmatic values can be equated to the survival of the culture itself. It is in this values arena that government, churches, schools, and families must reinforce and model appropriate behaviors. These bastions of society must take a strong stand in strengthening these generally agreed upon values.

In the personal values arena tolerance needs to be promoted so that "different" does not become associated with undesirable in our pluralistic society. This is the arena where the values clarification exercises such as those promoted by Simon, Howe, and Kirschenbaum (1972) best fit. The use of active listening and non-judgmental attitudes are most appropriate for relating to these value situations.

The recent emergence of dress codes in the public schools demonstrates but one example of a confusion between the pragmatic and personal value arenas. A student's attire in the classroom should not be the focus of our attention, even though such aspects are easier to monitor and regulate, when the motivational aspects of persistence, quality and quantity of effort, and self-efficacy better deserve our attention. Even though the current call for dress codes is purportedly to eliminate the attention of students on expensive clothes, the focus of the

educational community on attire instead of student behavior sends the wrong message to students.

An Integrated Approach

The notion of a dual system of values acquisition leads to the question of how the developmental and transmission approaches could be combined in order to better understand the ways in which values are learned. As a human being progresses through his/her life span, which approach occurs first in the chronological growth of the child?

An examination of the transmission approach demonstrates that it is this view that first influences the young child. The processes of modeling and reinforcement of particular behaviors influence the learning of values according to the behavioristic view. Such processes strongly influence the young child based upon strong needs for gratification, susceptibility of the child, and the power of the external environment to shape human behavior. The psychoanalytic view proposes perhaps even more powerful processes such as identification that accomplish the same objective as modeling, but the unconscious components of childhood identifications impose value structures upon the child that are beyond the awareness level. According to this view, the development of the superego imposes, again at least partly at the unconscious level, societal morals and values through the family, church, and governmental limits.

It is in the first few years of life that the child is introduced to what many would term socialization. The influence of these combined forces which influence the child is reflected

in B. F. Skinner's (1948) powerful statement in Walden Two:

> Each of us has interests which conflict with the interests of everybody else. That's our original sin, and it can't be helped. Now "everybody else" we call "society." It's a powerful opponent, and it always wins. Oh, here and there an individual prevails for a while and gets what he wants... But society wins in the long run, for it has the advantage of numbers and age. (p. 104)

Another prominent psychologist has focused upon the very influences of the internal processes that Skinner seems to downplay. Carl Rogers (1983) spoke of an organismic valuing process where the child employs an internal experiential system based upon sensation and perception in infancy. Rogers goes on to describe the influence of external forces which are derived from introjected value patterns which represent the values of "everybody else." Rogers (1977) believed that many (but not all) of the unconscious organismic processes need to be trusted and that not all of these processes are impulsive, pleasure seeking, and antisocial as perceived in the Freudian tradition.

Another well recognized figure in contemporary psychoanalytic theory, Erik Erikson (1964), noted that "identity thus is not the sum of childhood identifications, but rather a new combination of old and new identification fragments" (p. 90). Erikson (1963) further suggested that ego identity "is the accrued experience of the ego's ability to integrate all identifications with the vicissitudes of the libido, with the aptitudes developed out of endowment, and with the opportunities

offered in social roles" (p. 262). Thus Erikson's conception of identity allows the person to fulfill the need to be a unique human being and fit into meaningful roles provided in society.

Erikson's conception of identity dovetails very well with many of the ideas of Lawrence Kohlberg in the area of moral development. Consider how identity formation and the universal-ethical-principle orientation of moral development both constitute:

(1) a dependence upon cognitive maturity.

(2) an integration of personal conscience with societal realities.

(3) a systematic approach which allows for change both in persons and from one generation to the next.

(4) a sense of respect for the internal nature of individuals without denying the existence or power of the external world.

In summary, what would such an integrative model of values acquisition look like if we were to consider a synthesis of the approaches discussed thus far.

As the child begins the life span, conflicts immediately occur between the internal or organismic value system and the external pressures of society. In order to survive, the child must incorporate to a large extent these external values while denying, repressing, or at the least reducing the importance of the internal value system. It deserves to be noted that many adults live their lives with exactly such a value system which is externally based and has never been questioned. Such a condition is reminiscent of the state of foreclosure proposed by James Marcia (1980).

Somewhere around the adolescent period of development in the human life span, the potential for a new approach to values and behavior makes its presence known. The identifications of childhood can now be scrutinized by the individual who possesses a new set of cognitive mechanisms that Jean Piaget referred to as formal operations. Some of these identifications are maintained because they can withstand the test of personal conscience and practicality. Other identifications are modified to fit the personality of the individual and the current conditions in society. Finally, some identifications are discarded. Since childhood identifications are largely unconscious and filled with values and morals, the person must first be consciously aware of such belief systems in order to possess any hope of overcoming the domination of such tendencies.

What evolves from this process is a person who is mentally healthy and has an adaptive, flexible personality style while possessing a strong internal value system based upon the external realities of society. Although some people never take the risk to explore the integration of the internal and external influences to the adoption of values, other adults demonstrate that it is never too late to discover the benefits of this approach by seeking personal growth and mental health later in the life span. The value of such a cognitive developmental approach to values acquisition from therapy is quite convincing.

Educational/Research Implications

What is the practical significance of such a multi-faceted model of values acquisition that incorporates both the

"developmental" and "transmission" approaches?

The transmission approach suggests that we must first identify those values which can make the most significant impact on maintaining and improving our society and mental health. Such a debate will not easily lead to a consensus, but at least parents and educators will be able to critically examine the arguments for and against the inclusion of particular values. When and if such a set of core values can be identified, a decision must be made in terms of the extent to which we are willing to employ the means along a continuum in order to transmit such values in a democratic society.

At an individual level, each person holds the potential to make a values statement and in a free society other individuals have the opportunity to decide whether or not to adopt our values. People who share common values are likely to form groups which will promote particular causes as seen in political, social reform, and advocacy groups. This forms the backbone of democracy and assumes that other groups will provide checks and balances through individual involvement and a belief that the "best" values, ideas , and actions will eventually prevail.

Social institutions such as schools and families must carefully identify those values which promote their ideals and examine the existing reward systems and role models. A substantial amount of influence can be exerted by a group in order to shape behavior of individuals when the expectations have been clearly identified. Serious questions can be derived from such a view of shaping values: How consistent are we in properly

modeling and reinforcing such values and behaviors? Can't values be cleverly disguised and misrepresented by behavior? Can we afford the additional time and resources needed to monitor and reward the idealized values and behaviors?

Researchers in the area of classroom discipline often discover that teachers do NOT share the same standards of acceptable behavior, criteria for identification of these behaviors, and consequences for behaviors. It could be hypothesized that inconsistency in any of these arenas could lead to student frustration, lack of learning, and the inability to transmit the selected values.

It is likely that many opportunities are missed to either strengthen or reduce the likelihood that a value will be maintained. How often do people suggest that others "follow our words rather than our actions?" Social learning theory suggests that the collective influence of others is a significant factor in learning.

The question of whether or not indoctrination is even compatible with education deserves closer scrutiny. If we believe that certain values are so universal that we are willing to go to any lengths in order to impose such values and behaviors on others, consensus on such values must be publicly established and rationales provided, particularly to those who will be indoctrinated. The current situation in our society reflects the fact that many are using these extreme forms of modification for the promotion of values and behaviors which are of questionable importance.

The developmental approach to values acquisition presents a view that promotes mental health, adjustment of the individual in society, and a systematic process for changing values to meet the challenges of the future. Unfortunately, this approach also demands more intensive energy, is more time consuming, and holds greater risks as well as the potential for change.

Research needs to explore how people struggle to balance the organismic and external influences during childhood. Unfortunately, the advent of language is necessary to accomplish a detailed analysis of internal cognitive mechanisms which influence the resolution of the apparent conflict created when these influences are in conflict.

The relativistic logic that there is no one "best" way to accomplish the goal of learning values is critical to the developmental approach. However, the logical extension of this hypothesis also indicates that the developmental approach may certainly NOT be the only way to acquire values. While the relativistic position helps to guide some of our treatment of others in a multicultural society, how do we deal with the culturally learned behaviors of others that conflict with our own value system such as in the holocaust. Clearly, different behavior cannot always lead to the conclusion that this is behavior acceptable.

Summary

Since the developmental and transmission approaches to values acquisition reflect legitimate systems to strengthen the values in American society, we must pay attention to how, when,

and why we choose to employ a particular approach. The outcomes of the two systems produce radically different human beings. We are at a critical juncture in American society where we must clarify our values and our methods of teaching these values to the young.

As Roger Shinn (1980) points out education "is carried on by families, mass media, peer groups, and many other forces--sometimes working with and sometimes against schools, sometimes inside and sometimes outside of schools" (p. 111). The most important question as we prepare to enter the 21st Century could be: Are the major players in the values arena pushing or pulling in the same directions or different directions? Our future as a democratic leader in the world and our economic survival depends upon arriving at consensus in the area of what it is that we value and employing all of the available and necessary means to achieve such outcomes.

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Table 1
Characteristics of Approaches to Values Acquisition

DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH:	TRANSMISSION APPROACH:
Locus of Control	
1. Internal Control: Individualistic orientation	1. External Control: Group/Societal orientation
Process/Product Issues	
2. Active involvement of the individual in the process.	2. Passive involvement of the individual in the process.
3. Emphasis on process & product.	3. Emphasis on product.
Beliefs About Human Nature	
4. Internal growth orientation	4. External Control orientation
5. Human beings are capable of responsibility through the awareness of emotions and critical thinking.	5. Human beings are selfish and irresponsible, therefore they need to be controlled.
6. Psychological Roots: Humanistic/Cognitive/ Psychoanalytic(Freud's ego) (Erikson's identity)	6. Psychological Roots: Behavioristic/Psychoanalytic (Freud's id and superego)
Beliefs About Values	
7. Strong belief in relativism	7. Rejection of relativism
8. Celebrates human diversity (downplays conformity)	8. Discourages human diversity (promotes conformity)
9. Conscious efforts to avoid indoctrination.	9. Belief that all education is indoctrination.
10. Questions the existence of universal American values.	10. Believes in the existence of universal American values.
11. Promotes constructive changes in traditional values.	11. Focus on maintaining those traditional values favored by those who possess power and authority.
Cognitive Levels of Functioning	
12. Demands a high level of cognitive maturity.	12. Demands only a limited level of cognitive maturity.
Short-Term/Long-Term Outcomes	
13. Short-Term Benefits:growth can be uplifting.	13. Short-Term Benefits:control of behavior can be valuable.
14. Short-term Risks:confusion, indecision, trying different values, frustration, insecurity	14. Short-Term Risks:repression, surface level adjustment, denial of self, introjection of values.
15. Potential for personal growth, responsibility, and mental health.	15. Potential for repressed anger and hostility.
16. Long-Term Risks:Growth may never be achieved.	16. Long-Term Risks:Foreclosure produces regrets about life. introjection of foreign values.

Table 2
Some Values worth Teaching? (Adapted from Davis, 1983)

HONESTY:
Not cheating, stealing, shoplifting, vandalizing, lying; Returning things, Keeping promises, Trustworthiness, Understanding and respect for the police.

RIGHTS OF OTHERS:
Respecting rights of fellow students, teachers, friends, family members, and business owners; Accepting and respecting individual differences; Friendliness; Listening; Helping others; Empathizing with other's problems; Not hurting others; Not playing tricks on others.

ENERGY,ENVIRONMENT:
Conserving electricity, gas, coal, wood, metals, paper, school supplies, etc.; Caring for property, own and others'; Not being a messy person.

MANNERS:
Asking; Waiting; Sharing; Doing favors; Being courteous; Being considerate with older people, handicapped persons, fellow students, the teacher, the family; Behaving properly in public; on the bus, in stores, restaurants, theaters, etc.

SCHOOL, WORK HABITS:
Paying attention; Promptness; Following directions; Industriousness, Perseverance; Using time wisely; Doing neat work; Accepting leadership or participant roles; Valuing education; Observing safety rules.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT:
Accepting responsibility, consequences; Valuing physical health, hygiene; Compassion for fellow humans; Developing one's talents to the fullest; Valuing good friends; Self-respect;Pride; Earning respect from others; Controlling one's temper; Courage;Honor; Patriotism; Appreciation for beauty; Deep sense of democracy, fair play.